1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɬɬa'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe"uldt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬdt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬdt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe"uldt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 [415] [422] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [846]

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The course would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

4/Drouin E-6 (no date) 1961 HT20 Washo HT20

[P.375, A]

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Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

832

Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

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However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

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Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2193)

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Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

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The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

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[856]

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The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

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[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852

When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2308-2383)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the
[302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that
[784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time
[182] between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern
[177] of change is a matter for further investigation.

The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 193. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

464 178 [434] [439] 881 178 745 177 361 [162]

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nearrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

[785] [262] [841]

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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769 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

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Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observ-
844 ances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
● 846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

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The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

846 178 852 [302] [431]

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

881 [461]

The girl's puberty dance (ʔeʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

846 ●

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saw̓šan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (n̓šwnan ?émluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

846
527
[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîβek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
[751] grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maʔyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdonen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

NWA 854

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	Kd	Kn	Te	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Af
	1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1264.	Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266.	Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269.	Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [942]

MUTILATIONS

NWA 304

1271.	Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1275. With bone awl	–	+	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	–	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1278. When youth	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1279. All males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1282. All females	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1285.	Man's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1285a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
	1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1295.	Woman's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301.	Nasal septum bored	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	1303. Females	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
1304.	Man's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1305.	Woman's bone nose pin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1306.	Tattoo (mawagi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1307. Cactus needle	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1307a. Porcupine quill	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1311. Done when: child	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
	1312. Youth or maiden	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1313. Any time	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1316. Legs	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1317. Body	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318.	Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1321.	Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [844]

[p. 390]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	+
2185. Pit warmed	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2188. Mother lies flat	-	-	·	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	·	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	+	·	+	-	-
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2195. Person with special power	-	-	·	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2196. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	·	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	-	-	·	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	·	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	·	+
2203. Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	·	+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	·	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	+	-
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	-	+	·	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2213. Work taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	+	-	-	-	-
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	·	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	·	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2224. Bathed every morning	-	-	·	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	·	·	-	+	-	·	+	+	+	+	+	-
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	-	·	·	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-
2227. Tied with string	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadupi	+	+	·	·	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	-
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	-	+	·	·	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	·	·	·	·	·	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	·	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2236. Buried shady side of sage	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	·	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2245. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	–	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	–	–	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2250. Runs after bath	–	–	·	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	·	·	+	+	–	+	+	–	·	+	+	·	·
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
2254a. During wife's confinement	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2254b. Indefinite period	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2256. Smoking forbidden	–	+	·	–	–	·	–	·	+	–	+	·	–	–
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2259. Father must: run daily	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2260a. 10	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2260b. 30	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2262. Run any direction	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
2263. Run in morning	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	·	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	–	–	·	·	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	·	–
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	·	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2275. Paints self red	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	+	–	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2279. For 1st child only	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–
2281b. 6-12 months	–	+	·	–	+	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–
2284. 1 twin killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	·	–	–	–
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	·	–	·	–	+	–	–	–
2288. Unwanted infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2290. Killing: By sitting on	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2291. By putting in badger hole	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292. By leaving outdoors	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292a. Any way	–	–	·	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2293. Abortion	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2294. By pressure	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2295. By lying on rock	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

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